1:Vanhove--vi G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

Political and Administrative Map of Ruanda

[Following Title Page]

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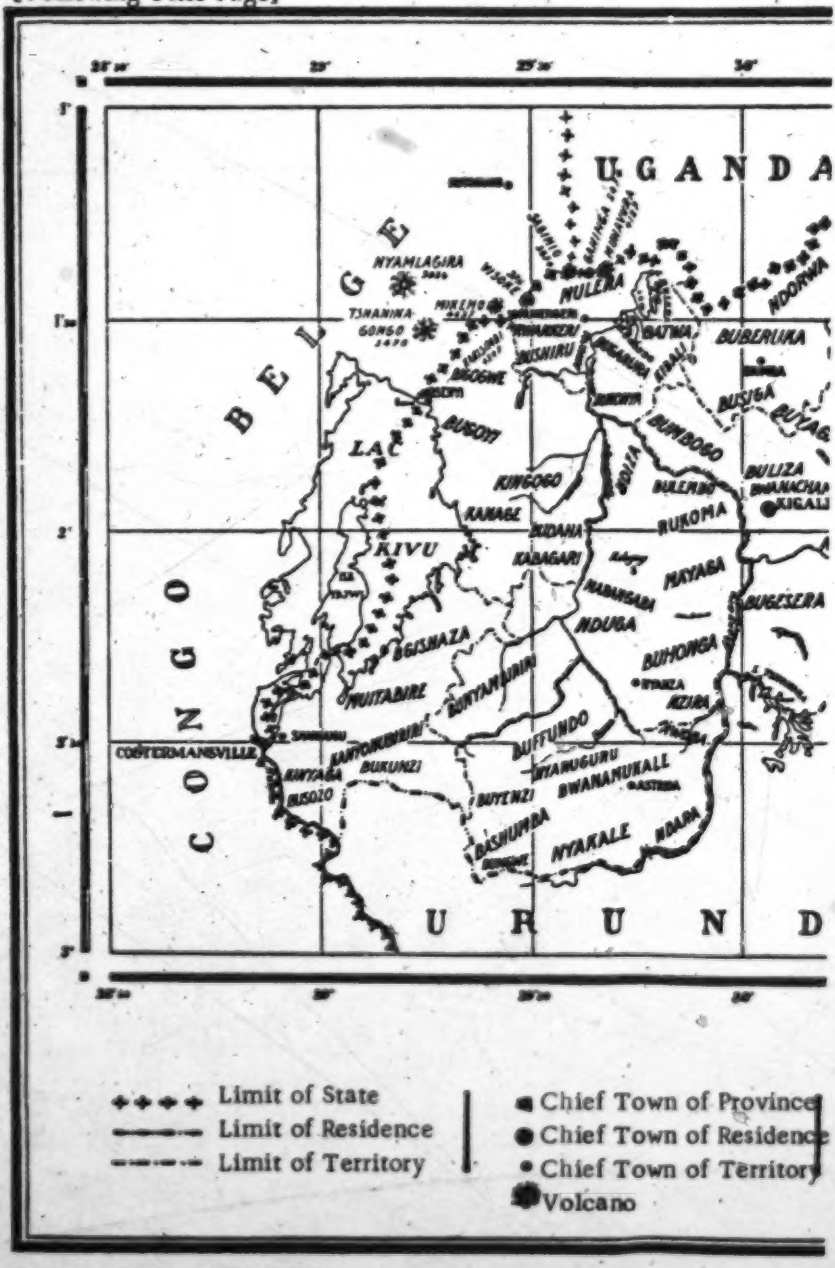

1: Vanhove--vii G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Second half of map]

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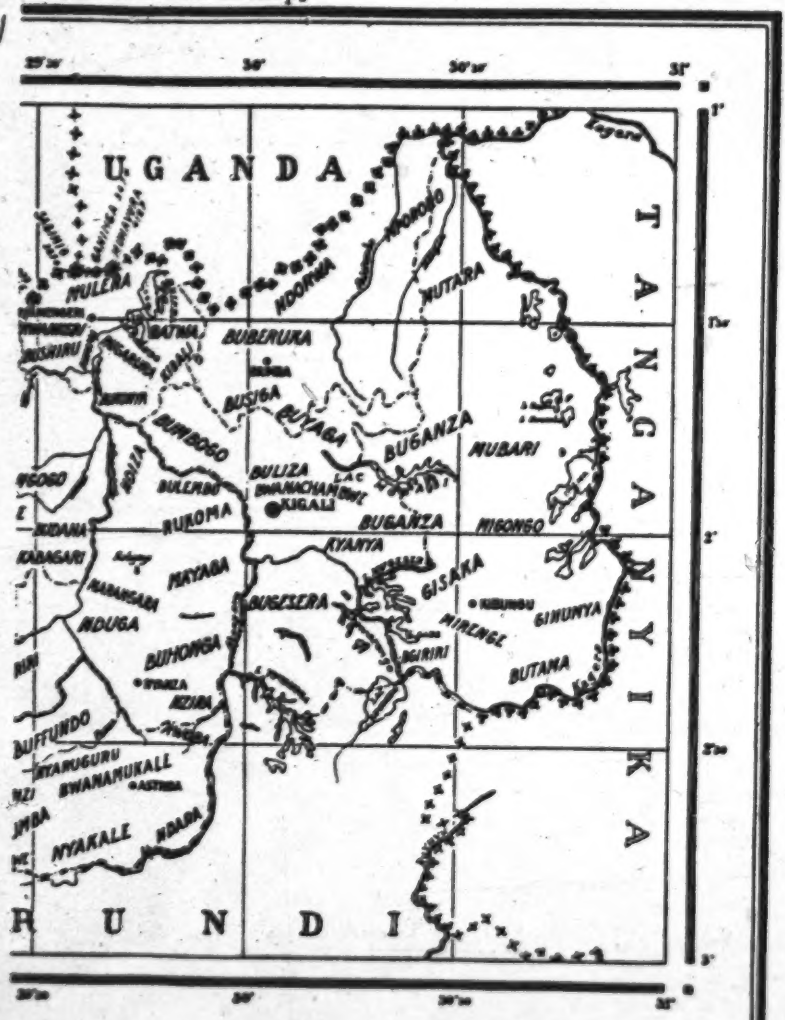

MULERA: Native Province.

- Chief Town of Province
- Chief Town of Residence
- Chief Town of Territory
- Volcano

Scale

0 10 20 30 40

Chapter 1

Survey of Land People (1)
(Cf. the map [colored in the original] at the end of the book.)

114 1. Part of this chapter is taken from a lecture which I gave at the 19th German Geographers' Conference in Strasbourg in the spring of 1914.

1. The Land Urundi

131 In the extreme west of German East Africa lies one of the regions of Africa least known until now: Urundi. To the north it borders on Ruanda, to the east on Ussuwi and Uha, to the south also on Uha, to the west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Since Urundi has an area of almost 29,000 square kilometers, i.e., approximately twice that of the Kingdom of [161] Saxony, and since it has over one and a half million inhabitants (according to van der Burgt, around two and a half million), it deserves attention for this reason alone. However, although 648 it has been German territory for over 25 years, we know little about it. Because of the recalcitrance of its population, the government had almost completely closed off the area to travel from the outside, and until 1911 political influence was limited to the establishment of a station with a resident and a company of colonial troops in Usumbura on Lake Tanganyika. It was not until 1912 that the seat of government was moved on a trial basis to Gitega in the interior of the region.

648 797 Oskar Baumann in 1812 was the first European who traveled through northern Urundi to the source of the Nile on the upper Ruvuvu. There followed then between 1896 and 1898 several military expeditions by colonial army officers, Ramsay, von Trotha, Langheld, von Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck, and Dr. Kandt; and between 1896 and 1899 the Catholic Mission of

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

been brought only during the past thirty years. The present Ruanda culture has lost the coherence that existed in pre-European days. Those who have become more closely associated with alien activity, and have therefore felt its influence more constantly, now share a culture made up in part of their ancestral way of life and in part of their interpretation of the Belgian variety of Western culture as it operates in a colonial situation. Even those who have not been brought into direct contact with whites feel that their old patterns of life are losing their validity. But that more or less hidden part of the old culture, consisting of basic assumptions on the relationships of man with the world and with other men, has suffered the least change. To be sure, the legends of the descent of the first Batutsi meet with more scepticism than in the past, but the fundamental beliefs that this story reflects are still profoundly embedded in the Ruanda ethos. Even when new institutions, based on assumptions conflicting with the earlier ones, are imposed under external pressure and adopted, the principles shaping the older institutions will subsist and, if participation in the new institutions is unchecked, these will be completely reinterpreted in accordance with the former premises. Some manifestations of the continuing existence of the ancient assumptions in the contemporary context will be considered here, but we shall be mainly concerned with the Ruanda world-view as it was at the beginning of this century.[1]

Ruanda is a highland country in East Africa lying in the region delimited by lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. Its area is 24,500 square kilometres; its population amounts to almost 2 million inhabitants, the highest density in Africa south of the Sahara. Three socio-'racial' castes are to be

[1] Much of the material used in this study was collected by the author during two years' work (1950–1) in Ruanda as a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.). The author was very much helped in his field research by Dr. E. Fiaudet and Dr. G. De Clercq during their six-month course of training under his direction. Extensive and valuable information has been found in the published literature on Ruanda, especially studies by Father A. Arnoux, Abbé L. de Lacger, Abbé Alexis Kagame, the late Father A. Pagès, Mr. G. Sandrart, Father Schumacher, and Mr. J. Vanhove. The author is also grateful to the Abbé Kagame for having placed at his disposal some of his manuscripts. In formulating the conceptual and theoretical scheme used in this paper, the author has relied considerably on the teaching and works of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University. He is immensely indebted for his fundamental training in anthropology to the teaching staff of London University and particularly to Professor Daryll Forde. Mr. Lawrence Onchinsky has kindly corrected the manuscript. A short bibliography is given at the end, but it has not been felt necessary to document this study at every point, nor indeed was this possible, since it was written in the field with the use of a very restricted library.

This is an essay in the etymological meaning of the word. If the underlying configurations of a culture constitute its most important part, since they provide a key to the interrelatedness of apparently unconnected phenomena and to the meaning of apparently incomprehensible behaviour, they are also the most elusive realities. They evade direct observation and, often, direct interrogation. The anthropologist, therefore, must be sure that his inferences are logically acceptable not only to his own mind but also to the minds of the participants in the culture he studies. All this requires a thorough knowledge of the overt aspects of a culture and a long familiarity with them. The author is painfully aware that he has not gone very deeply into the ethos of Ruanda. This is only an attempt at a synthesis of the results so far obtained in researches which are still proceeding.

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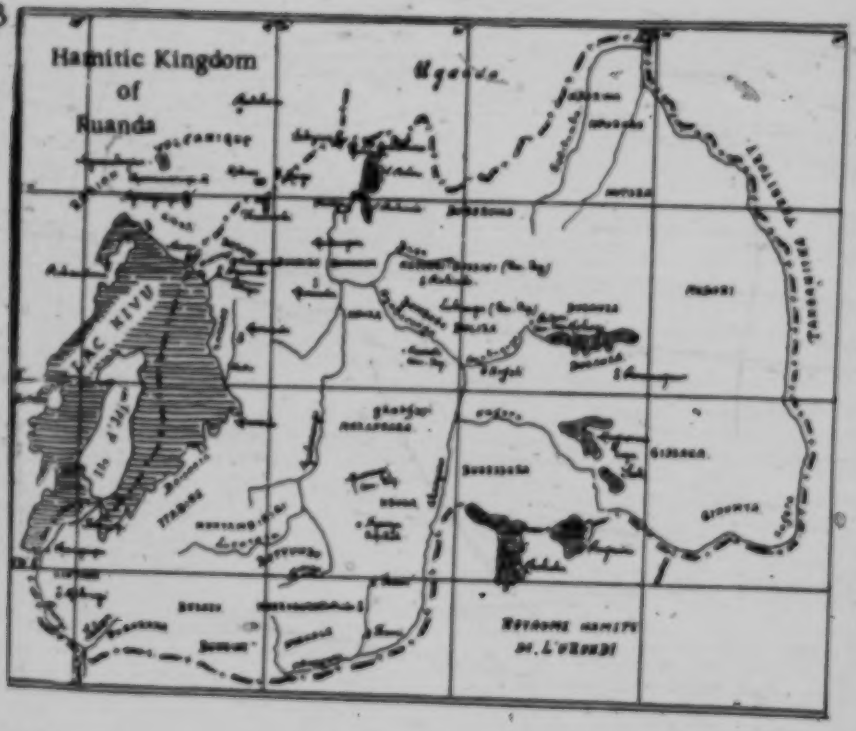

5: Pages--1 . M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

/21/ A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa

Book I

A Summary Outline of Ruanda and Its Inhabitants

Chapter 1

Physical and Ethnological Make-up of Ruanda. Political, Familial, and Social Organization of Its Inhabitants.

[3] Ruanda is bound to the north by the Protectorate of Uganda which encloses the Bufumbiro, separated from Ruanda in 1912 by the Anglo-Belgian Commission of Delimitation. /22/

To the northeast it is bound by the Kagera, which runs into Lake Victoria.

The Akanyaru River, which delimits Ruanda to the south and southeast does not enclose the Bugessera. That province, situated at the angle formed by the junction of the Akanyaru and the Kagera, was separated from Urundi, to which it used to belong. It is now divided from it by an artificial line. Nor is the Bungwe enclosed by the southern river, which leaves it to the right.

To the west, Ruanda is separated from the Belgian Congo by Lake Kivu along a length of 120 kilometers. To the northwest the volcanic chain forms a natural boundary beyond which are situated, however, two small provinces, the Bgisha, or Gisigari, and the Jomba, which were joined to Belgian Kivu in 1912.

484 [817] [825] Such are the approximate boundaries of Ruanda. This does not prevent its inhabitants from extending their contacts well beyond the circle of their own land. They go as far as Lake Edward to fetch salt, which is collected in the marshes near the lake. There they also

133 These two torrents have their source in the southwestern part of Ruanda. Their headwaters flow impetuously on a bed littered with rocks and pebbles.

Among the many subsidiaries of the Nyabarongo, let us mention in alphabetic order: the Base, Mukungwa (which comes out of Lake Ruhondo), Nyabugogo, which serves as an outlet for Lake Mohazi, etc.

The Akanyaru, whose basin is less extensive, also originates in the southwest and combines its waters with those of the Nyabarongo at the level of theBugessera. /28/

After they join, these two rivers change their name to Kagera (1). Under this new name they enter the Victoria into which they

[103] 1. Kagera. This word comes from the verb kugera, "to deepen."

The Kagera slowly wanders through the plain, and its lazy waters overflow

[136] into large ponds and marshes infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes.

pour their yellow waters loaded with silt.

Lake Kivu receives only a small part of the waters of Ruanda. Its outlet is the Ruzizi River, which flows into /Lake/ Tanganyika after a tumultuous course of about 120 kilometers.

• 131 Ruanda, whose surface may be estimated at 30, 000 to 35, 000 161 square kilometers boasts a population that is believed to reach two million souls.

563 It is made up of three quite distinct ethnic groups: the Batutsi, or Hamites, the Bahutu of the Bantu group, and the Batwa, or Negrillos (Pygmies).

141 The Batutsi, who are thought to be of Egyptian or Abyssinian origin, (2) are tall in stature. Some measure as much as 2 or even

000 2. From an ethnological point of view the physical appearance of the Ethiopian people is an exception in

144 The word "Hamite" is, however, also used in a different sense. We speak of a "Hamitic anthropological type." This designation refers to the anthropological element so characteristic of the tribes who have mixed relatively little and who speak Hamitic languages, the Somal [Somali] and Galla, for example. In this sense [123] one may count the Batutsi among the Hamites. The Hamitic anthropological type is more obvious in them than in the Massai to the east and the Bari and Kakwa in the northwest. They are less "Negroized."

173 131 According to their traditions, the Batutsi come from the north, which, however, refers essentially to the Bugansa district south of Lake Mohasi, not to the distant lands on the other side of the Victoria-Nile, the Bukedi, traditional homeland of the Babito. This might mean that the Batutsi have been in their present country long enough for the other, older traditions to have faded, leaving only those concerning the founding of the Ruanda state.

Karagwe, however, is also mentioned in these traditions. Perhaps this has something to do with the older migration of the Ruanda Batutsi. Presumably this migration took place along an axis extending from the steppes in the northeast, along the Karagwe border, and across Lake Mohasi to Nduga and Mukinjaga. It is along this axis that one finds the strongest concentration of Batutsi.

131 Dr. Kandt states that the original homeland of the Batutsi is the Mhogo Basin (districts of the upper Nyawarongo). Kissaka also has a large percentage of Batutsi. Baumann (1) mentions

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1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 204.

isolated groups of Batutsi in the mountains in the northwestern part of Tanganyika. Only in the Muwissi Mountains, in the southwestern part of Issawi, are there reputedly very few Batutsi. (2)

2. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer

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on German East Africa. Mitteilunger aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 348.

In the northwestern part of the above-mentioned axis the Batutsi are less numerous. Only in Bwischascha and above all in the district of Lubengera do they appear in larger numbers. (3)

3. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin), p. 505.

The Batutsi of Bugoye settled there only a few generations ago. They came there from Mukinjaga. The few Batutsi in Mulera came there a short time ago from Nduga.

101 167 The Batutsi have also migrated to the west across the eastern edge of the graben [Rift Valley]. Dr. Kandt (4) says the following about the Batutsi in Kishari:

4. Ibid., p. 456.

"Here (Tshove, Kishari) many Watussi visited us, simple, friendly people but less handsome and aristocratic than those of Urundi and Ruanda; they have to work. Here they are not the rulers of the country, but cattle breeders living in villages isolated from the original inhabitants who are agriculturalists. (It is indeed strange how sharp a boundary the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu form in this respect: to the east whole groups of Watussi live as kings and chiefs of subject peoples; to the west they appear sporadically or, as in Kishari, in larger numbers, but in neither case as rulers.)... Later I heard that Kishari is the refuge for all Watussi who for some reason have had to flee from their homeland." [124]

241 558 Despite the fact that conditions are very favorable for agriculture, the Batutsi have remained herdsmen, and only seldom have poverty-stricken Batutsi taken up agriculture. This happened to a family of Bagwabiro in Bugoye. Those Batutsi who till the

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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The red line indicates the route taken by the expedition—The places visited f
people Bakyiga—Bakunta on shore of L. Edward—Katwe and Fort Portal people
and L. Salisbury people Bateso—Mt Elgon people Bagesu and Basabei—Busoga

[End plate - Section A]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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-The places visited for investigation were: Ankole people Banyankole—Kigezi
nd Fort Portal people Bambwa and Bakonjo—Bunyoro people Banyoro—Soroti
nd Bambei—Busoga people Basoga.

[End plate - Section B]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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[P.6]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

1. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

THE Kingdom of Ruanda lies within latitudes 1° 20′ to 2° 50′ south and longitudes 28° 50′ to 30° 55′ east. Physically it is a part of the elongated highland zone extending at varying elevations from the Red Sea to Lake Nyasa. This East African highland zone is characterized by large blocks of upland and the giant cracks of the rift valley system.

Ruanda is situated on the western border of the central region of this zone. It is a high plateau in which numerous rivers cut deep valleys separating a multitude of hills. The main feature of Ruanda orography is the chain of mountains with an elevation from 2,250 to 3,000 metres (6,750 to 9,000 feet) which separates the Congo and Nile drainage basins. This has a north-south trend approximately fifteen to twenty-five miles east of Lake Kivu (elevation: 1,460 metres or 4,380 feet) and forms, with the northern part of the Ruzizi river, the western boundary of Ruanda. From this mountainous chain to the east, elevations fall gradually to the Kagera River Valley, the eastern limit of Ruanda. The greater part of the Kagera here consists of swamps which may be as much as sixteen miles broad. The elevation of the region along the Kagera is from 1,300 to 1,500 metres (3,900 to 4,500 feet).

The northern boundaries of the country are not as clearly defined by physical factors, except in the west by the Virunga volcanic massif including eight peaks, the highest of which, Karisimbi, reaches 4,507 metres (14,873 feet). The Akanyaru and Lua rivers—which form part of the southern border of the kingdom, separating it from its Burundi neighbour—cannot be considered as natural frontiers, as they are not difficult to cross.[1] Ruanda's relief, together with its central situation in Africa

[1] The present-day political boundaries of Ruanda do not include the whole territory which was politically and culturally part of the kingdom in the past. There are Ruanda populations in the north, in the Kivu Province of the Belgian Congo (between the actual border and Rutshuru), and in the Kigezi District of Uganda (along the actual border).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

(about 1,000 miles from the two nearest sea-ports, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam), probably accounts for the country's long isolation from Arab and European contacts, in spite of its easily accessible frontiers in the north and south. Although slaves were occasionally sold to the African middlemen in touch with Arab traders operating in the neighbourhood of Ruanda, it seems that the traders themselves never penetrated the country. At all events Ruanda was never a regular place of supply. The first European reported to have been in the country was Count G. A. von Götzen, a German officer leading a scientific and military expedition across Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. He stayed in Ruanda only for a few weeks, in 1894.

The interior highlands, which have been compared to the massif of Abyssinia and to the mountains of Bohemia, or even to Switzerland and Tibet, are not very large. Their longest north-south extent in a straight line is about 100 miles, the extent from west to east being about 140 miles. The area of present-day Ruanda is 26,338 square kilometres (10,166 square miles). In 1907 Professor Jan Czekanowski, a member of the Duke of Mecklenburg's expedition to Central Africa, estimated it to cover about 28,900 square kilometres.[1]

The climatic effects of equatorial latitude are mitigated by the elevation. In the Congo-Nile mountain chain the temperature may drop to freezing point, but the greater part of Ruanda enjoys a temperate climate. The average is about 20° C. (68° F.), and the maximal variations (which are greater between day and night than between the seasons) rarely exceed 10° C. (18° F.) above or under the average. In the eastern lower part the temperature is, of course, higher.

Similar distinctions must be made for rainfall in the high mountains of the west, the highlands of the middle country, and the Kagera lower region of the east. In the first region rainfall averages 1,250 mm. a year (50 inches), in the second it is between 1,250 and 1,000 mm. (50 and 40 inches) and in the third less than 1,000 mm. (40 inches).[2] These figures alone do not have very much bearing on soil fertility, as the significance of rainfall depends on other factors, such as volume and intensity of precipitations, declivity of ground, type of vegetation, and characteristics of the soil.

[1] Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114. [2] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 85.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Districts of Ancient Ruanda

[Facing P. 102]

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9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem